

THE  
ROMAN.

THE  
CONVERSATION  
OF THE  
ROMANS  
AND  
MÆCENAS,

In Three Excellent  
DISCOURSES,

*Written in French*  
By Monsieur de BALSAC.

*Translated into English.*

---

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THE  
STATIONER  
TO THE  
READER.

**N**Othing but  
great Subjects  
can fall from the  
pen of Monsieur de  
Balsac, who having  
formerly ravished  
the world with his

A 3 im-

immortal Prince ,  
hath now for a  
choice cabinet piece  
illuminated in small  
an invincible Ro-  
man; Neither can  
any pen so power-  
fully commend his,  
as his own : Even  
commending Anti-  
quity he hath out-  
done it ; So that the  
present Age may  
glory, that the Ver-  
tue

tue of well speaking  
is as high as ever.  
Nay, hee hath so  
highly praised our  
Predecessors, that  
with an unheard of  
Rhetorick he forc-  
ibly perswades the  
contrary, & ravish-  
eth for himself what  
he seems to bestow  
on them; So that by  
his example we need  
not doubt but Po-

A 4 sterity

sterity is as capable  
of true Nobility.  
And that Antiquity  
it self must confess,  
that in parallel lines,  
although the paral-  
lel must be after the  
first, yet it may as  
wel be drawn above  
as below it. But as  
he of Hero's, so we  
may say of Writers,  
there is but one Bal-  
fac, And indeed his  
Tran-



If you are there-  
fore pleas'd, wee are  
all so; But we are  
all at a loss, unlesse  
you favorably par-  
don the escapes of  
the Presse, which are  
many, and require  
thy judgement as  
well as the help of  
this Errata.

THE

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## ERRATA.

**P** Ag. 23. line 15. read ever. p. 45 l. 6. v. Heroes :  
p. 48. l. 11. Conversation begins the Para-  
graph : Id. l. 18. v. Nations : p. 98. l. 22. v. writes :  
p. 120. l. 11. v. he never fell : p. 123. l. ult. v. noble-  
ness : p. 125. l. 19. v. could : p. 126. l. 1. v. modest :  
p. 133. l. ult. v. appeas'd : lb. l. 14. v. it : p. 134. l. 6.  
v. debated : p. 135. l. 2. v. when : p. 136. l. 8. v. even :  
p. 137. l. ult. v. thornes. p. 142. l. 16. v. of.

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20. various laws and customs of the country.





THE  
ROMAN,  
TO

The Lady *Marquess* of  
RAMBOUILLET.

---

*Discourse* I.



W H A T hath been told  
you *Madam* is most  
true, and if you de-  
fire an illustrious wit-  
ness, I will confirm it, *Cesar*  
shall assure you in two or three  
B places

places of his commentaries.

There is no doubt but those great souls of which we have so often discours'd, were lodged in bodies of a mean size; your Ancestors were Hero's, but were not Gyants, and the most part of their enemies had the advantage, both in stature and bulk: This historical truth being without difficulty received, there can be nothing more just, then the consequences drawn from thence; That had the men of those times been weighed, and valued by weight; an *Alman* had been neer upon worth two Romans.

The Almans were both longer and larger; The Galls were stronger and more numerous; The Affricans richer and craftier;

(3)

tier; The Greeks better polished, and better skilled in the excercises of wrestling and coursing; But the Romans fitter for command, better disciplined, and more knowing in war; And with this discipline which some have called, the foundation of the Empire, the source of their Triumphs, they have subjugated the strength, the number, the wealth, the subtilty, and even the vertue of other Nations.

You ought not to doubt but there was vertue in the Provinces; The despising of death was common among the Barbarians: The love of liberty, and the desire of glory were not unknown unto them. But, *Madam*, the tru use of al these things

B 2

was

(4)

was to be found at *Rome*: *Rome* was the Shop where the gifts of Heaven were wrought, and where the goods of Nature were perfected. It was she, who, first of all shewed to the world judicious Armies, & wise Wars: It was she knew how to mix, as it ought to be, Art with Adventure, Conduct with Fury, and the Divine quality of the Understanding, with the brutal actions of the Irascible part.

Whereby it appears, That the Soul is Sovereign Artisan, of all things, aswel of Military Actions, as of Civil Affairs: The principal part of valor depends not on the organs of the Body; neither is it a privation of reason, and a simple

(4)

ple overflowing of the Gall, as the People fancy it ; 'Tis neither the eies that see, nor the eares that hear, nor the arms that move ; 'Tis the Soul, as a Poet says, quoted by *Aristotle* ; 'Tis the Soul that doth all, whithout which the eies were blinde, the ears deaf, the arms paralitical ; It is the principle, and the author of all the operations of man.

By the Soul a child hath cast down a Giant, and Bulls are led in a string ; By the Soul an Architect sitting still, orders the work of a thousand Masons, and builds Temples and Palaces ; By the Soul a Pilot without stirring, workes more then all the Slaves at the oare, and a man would vainly sweat to

(6)

hoise and loose the sailes, did he not find his way by the Stars; By the Soul, *Madam*, a Consul having been commanded to make war against a King, an Enemy to the Republick, studied the way so well, and became so knowing in a profession, wherein he was altogether ignorant; That going from the City a man of Peace, he arrived at the Army a Great Captain, and divests his robes to gain presently a battel: Thus did your Predecessors commence; Thus did they manage their first Armes; Their Prentiship was a Master-peece.

I am confident you would see one of those people: Can we finde out no way to shew you a Roman Consul? Is there

no

no safer and more innocent means, then that of Magick, to bring him whole from the place where he is? For, without doubt, you would see him, both in body and minde, with that gravity, which bred respect in the heart of Kings, and ravished the people with admiration; you would see him, with that visible & acknowledgeable Authority, which accompanied him to Prison and banishment, which dwelt with him when he had lost all, whereof Fortune could not dispoyle him, when she had reduced him to his shirt. Here he is, *Madam*, who comes not from the Elizian fields, nor from a fabulous habitation; He comes forth of the Histories of *Polibius* or of

B 4

some

some such like Country, and methinks he deserves very well to be looked upon.

First, he no less knows how to obey the Laws, then he knows how to command men; and with an elevation of spirit, which sees the Crowns of Sovereigns beneath him, he hath a soul wholly subject to the power of the people; He reveres the sanctity of that power in the hands of a *Tribun*, or of a furious Man, or of an Enemy, or perhaps of both. Beleeving, that to fail is the onely ill that can happen to an honest man; He beleeves there are no faults little, and making a religion of the least part of his duty, he even thinks he cannot be negligent thereof without impiety; He  
more



(9)

more esteems a day imployed in vertue, then a long delicious life ; A moment of glory, more, then an age of voluptuousness ; He measures time by success, and not by its duration.

Acting by this principle, he is always prepared to hazardous undertakings ; He is always ready to devote himself, for the good of his Citizens, to take upon him the ill fortune of the Commonwealth ; And whether the Oracle direct him, or the Inspiration come from his own spirit, he thanks the Gods, as the greatest grace they ever conferred on him ; for that it was their will he should be the General, which was to be killed of that Army which  
B. 5. should.

should gain the Victory. In pursuit of this, *Madam*, there is nothing but must be easie to him, and nothing but we may beleieve of him; He knows neither nature, nor alliance, nor affection, where the interest of his Country is concerned; He hath no other particular interest but that, and neither loves nor hates, but for publick concernments.

A soul without a body, and rid of matter could agitate in no other manner, nor could it be less incommodated with its passions; but let us say more; It could not be less sensible of the vain appearance of humane things, aswel those which astonish, and those which daze us; The Bravadoes of the  
 bicci day

day make no more impression on his constancy, then yesterdayes caresses : Princes are as weak against him with their wild beasts, as with their treasures. And if he had never seen Elephants, and were it possible from behind the tapisstry to bring forth all those which are in *Affrica*, or in the Indies, he would consider them but as a sport, or the mummeries of *Pirrhus*, and not as a frightful and threatening thing for *Fabritius*. All what ever is frightful and terrible, in the world, is not capable to make him wink ; All what is splendid and pretious cannot afford him temptation ; He is neither to be overcome ; Nor to be worn.

He is of those courages,  
*Madam,*

*Madam*, which were invincible, were they assaulted onely with a lively force, and were a man alwayes to fight, and alwayes to make war. But proposing for the object of their valor, to overcome what was most to be feared in their enemies, they imagine it unnecessary to mistrust the rest, and are least careful in those things which they beleieve less difficult; whence perhaps that fancy of the Poets comes, that the Demy-Gods had a part about them which was subject to death, and a place whereby they were mortal: Because according to my opinion, there is always imperfection in the works of nature, and that she never takes so much care in finishing what she makes

makes, but that she alwaies leaves the one side weaker then the other: Now, *Madam*, it is not to be doubted, but that this commonly is the weake part of great courages, and here their hearts are of flesh, which every where else are of *Diamond*. There needs not so much resolution to resist the violence of Tyrants, as to defend ones self from their favours; and the power which was given them to do ill, is less dangerous then the means they have whereby to oblige men.

Yet do all these means fail, when they are to be imployed against a *Roman*. This mortal part is not to be found in his soul; he is equally strong on all sides; He is impenetrable to  
 vanity,

vanity, as well as to fear and avarice ; His severity cannot be sweetned , not even with the complements and flatteries of the King of the *Parthians* ; He at once subverts discovered endeavours, and guards himself from hidden artifices ; Nothing is contagious to a minde naturally so sound , and so well purged by the discipline of his Country ; Neither the poyson brought from far, nor the neighbouring corrupted air, nor stranger, nor citizen have the power to change the goodness of his constitution.

Malecontents lose their time and their pains , if they think to make him relish novelties, by infusing in him an ill opinion of the present ; How specious soe-

ver

ver the pretences are they propose, though they speake the publick good or liberty, he understands not the language; You were as good court a Vestal; 'Tis not a human enterprise to shake his immoveable fidelity; A Poet said the Capitol was not so stable, And that *Rome* might sooner change place; He would rather destroy Tyranny, then share it with any man, and rather declare himself an Enemy, then a Colleague with an Usurper.

Can any thing be added to so great a Title. This one thing more, to witness the highest proof of his vertue: The Republick, *Madam*, cannot lose him, how negligent so ever she be to preserve him; He suffers  
not

not onely patiently, but gladly injuries and injustices. It never sunk into his minde to revenge himself of her by a civil war, and he prefers the name of an innocent *Banditi*, to that of a guilty *Victor*; He hath been perswaded from his childhood, and since never doubted, That a son can never acquit himself of all he owes to a mother, though a wicked mother, though even she became a Stepmother. And that a Citizen is for ever obliged to his Country, even to his ungrateful Country, which even hath us'd him like an Enemy.

Behold, *Madam*, you have near upon sounded the bottome of our Consuls heart, and the root of those wonderfull things which you shall read in the Histories.



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Stories of *Polybius* and *Titus Livius*.

Let's now a while look on his outside, on that part which is more expos'd to the sight of men.

You may observe in his Actions neither a Cowardly or a heavie Coldnesse, nor a temerous and precipitate Vehemency. He softly makes haste, and advanceth with an insensible Motion: Without disquieting himself, he moves inferiour things neither more nor lesse, Then the Intelligences without tiring themselves move the Celestial Spheres. To see him so little troubled about his business, a man would say, That hee were not the Undertaker, and there appeares so much facility  
in

in the most painful functions of the Charge he executes, That although hee doth nothing meanly, Yet he doth nothing with Violence. Observe how with his Eys he leads the whole Army? How a Nod of his head keeps all the World in their duty? How his presence onely establisheth Order, and drives away Confusion? Truly, there is a delight even for Philosophers themselves; and even for those who take no interest in humane Affaires to observe him in those occasions. The least Motions of his body are accompanied with some Vertue which renders him lovely. 'Twere hard to tell, Whether he be more necessary to the Republick, or more pleasing to the Citizens.

Citizens. He Commands well but it becomes him well to command. His command, *Madam*, is so gratefull, That there is a crowd, There is an ambition, that there is a sensible pleasure to obey him.

That good Grace which shines in all hee doth, being infused into solid qualities, and being joyn'd with Understanding and other necessary qualities, is an admirable charm and enchantment for him to sweeten the bitternesse of disgustfull Orders; so that hee can execute them without trouble of Minde, or repugnancy of will: It hath a strange force to winn the heart of the Souldiery, and draw their inclinations, were they harder to move, and more insensible

sensible then the iron and steel  
they use.

By this charm they binde  
themselves not only to him, but  
they unloose themselvs from all  
other things ; They minde  
neither Pay, Plunder, or Recom-  
pence ; They neither care for  
the feasts of *Rome*, nor for de-  
lights of *Italy* ; They demand  
and desire nothing but their Ge-  
neral, of whom they are so ena-  
mor'd, even so jealous, that they  
apprehend the end of the war,  
for fear onely they should lose  
him by a peace : They murmur  
against the Senate, when he is  
revoked, neither can they con-  
solate themselves with a Victo-  
ry which ravisheth the Victor  
from them.

What an one, good God !  
Must

Must so passionate a Militia be ;  
 'Tis not obedience in pursuit of  
 command ; 'Tis zeal which even  
 prevents it ; 'Tis not affection  
 which obligeth them to the  
 cause of their Chief ; 'Tis a  
 transport which ravisheth them  
 from themselves, and makes  
 him say, I am going with the  
 tenth Legion against the Ene-  
 my, of which I am no less confi-  
 dent, then of mine own person ;  
 I know it would pass through  
 the midst of flames naked, did  
 honour, will, or necessity re-  
 quire it. So that, *Madam*, they  
 are no more souldiers of his ar-  
 my which march with him ;  
 They are as the members of his  
 body, which move when he  
 stirs ; They are as we may say,  
 stranger parts of himself, which  
 are

are more united to him then his natural.

On the other side, the respect they bare him, is no less powerful, then the love they shew him; at least its more powerful, then the right of life and death, which he hath over them; This respect governs and rules all his troopes; He drives or stops them, as he needs their different obedience; He might be unto them instead of Discipline. Let no man think, that it is the laws of war, or military orders, which hinders the soldiers from committing offences; Tis his presence and his testimony. When they fail, they fear more least he should know it, then they fear to be punished, and divers have been kept in their duties

duties with apprehension of displeasing him, which would neither have done it for fear of punishment, or dishonor.

That, *Madam*, was the only thing, which the *Roman Army* fear'd; and never did Souldiers so much slight their Enemy, nor so much redoubt their Cheif. There never was at once Spirits so fierce and so docile, did overflow the Field with more impetuosity, and retire to their places in the Camp with lesse appearance of having ever gone out. After they had done wonders for Courage, they came to enquire whether they had done well or no; They came to render an accompt of their Victory, wherof they were sometimes fain to justifie themselves,

selves, and for which they were sometimes punish'd.

This fear of Piety and Religion, hath produced thousands of examples in pure Antiquity, and in the Colleges they past over them, they are so common, and so numerous : But we must choose what we are to present you ; I must shew you, *Madam*, a mark of that generous fame, even when the Empire declined, when *Rome* was no more then the sepulchre of *Rome* ; When Nature according to my Opinion , would preserve her Rights , and make known that the Ashes of things sovereignly excellent are still rich and precious.

Under the Empire of *Justinian*, a Captain named *Fulcar*,  
incon-



inconsiderately casting himself amongst the enemies, and having engaged his Troop in a disadvantageous fight, when a certain man in that extremity, represented to him, That if hee would hee might yet retreat with a good part of his men. 'Twere better to die, said hee, For how shall I bee able after this, to endure the sight of *Narfes*. 'Twas not that *Narfes* was cruel, but that the sovereign vertue is redoubtable. 'Tis that the Mine of the General of a Roman Army is frightful to those who have it not from naked swords, or assured death. With a look he pierceth the guilty to the heart, & punisheth them with his sight.

C

Is

Is not this, *Madam*, an effect of that Authority w<sup>ch</sup> comes from Heaven; of that Authority inherent in the person of him who hath it distinct and separate from that other authority bred by the power given him by the Republick, verified by the Senate, and to be read in Patents of Parchment, and confirmed with Eagles, and Dragons in picture, by Rods, Axes, and Archers?

This second Authority of which you presume I should say somewhat, which as yet was never said, Is a certain light of glory, and a certain character of greatness, which heroick vertue imprints in the countenance of men.

And

And this Character, and this Light, corrects the defects and the imperfections of nature, makes little men appear great, imbellisheth ugly faces, defends the solitariness and nakedness of a person expos'd to the outrages of fortune, over-press'd under the ruins of a destroyed party, abandoned of his own wishes, and of his own hopes.

This Character, *Madam*, is to this person a safeguard from Heaven, against the violences of the Earth; Renders him inviolable to his provoked enemies; binds the hands of Traitors which come against him with ill designs; finds respect and tenderness amongst *Scythes* and *Tartars*.

By this mark the Roman Princes were known by their enemies in the Wars, although they disguised themselves, although they were mixt in a croud of soldiers, although they had never been seen before. Nothing is able to blot out this character, nor to obscure this light, not even disgraces, imprisonment, and the chains of a poor Captive. The Executioner falls backwards at sight of his patient, and can scarce forbear to beg his life of him. Hee fancies that a great flame issues out of his eyes, which enlightens the Dungeon, and that he hears a hideous voice which cries out, *Who art thou unhappy man, who darest lay thy*

*(thy hand on Cajus Marius.*

Are not these, *Madam*, give me leave once more to ask you, are not these the highest and the dearest favours which can be received from the Supream vertue. And this second Authority which survives the first; This Authority which preserves it self in the ruines of power, which consecrates misfortunes, chains, and dungeons, which renders affliction holy and venerable. Is it not far a more noble thing then the unworthy prosperity of the happy? Then all the Scepters, all the Diadems, and all the Magnificence of idle Kings.

Questionless, Authority is  
G 3 far

far more noble then power,  
 and that which is formed  
 from the reverence of ver-  
 tue, far more worthy then  
 that which is established by  
 the terror of punishments.  
 The pure and innocent tri-  
 umph of an infinite many  
 subjected hearts, is far a more  
 illustrious and glorious sight,  
 then the bloody and misera-  
 ble trophies of some cast  
 down heads. I mean cast a-  
 way without any extream  
 necessity, and for a shew on-  
 ly of a tyrannical and savage  
 power, and if the Poets Fa-  
 bles are the Philosophers my-  
 steries. Mee thinks, *Madam*,  
 that their *Jupiter* did an acti-  
 on far more admirable and  
 more worthy the Father of  
 the

the Gods, and the King of Men, when he removed all things with one of his eye-browes, and shaking his head caused *Olympus* to tremble, then when by force of thunder and tempest, he tears up Trees, and breakes downe Roofs.

Power is a heavy and material thing, which draws after it a long Train of humane means, without which it would remain immoveable. It acts only with Land and Sea Armies. Upon a march it must have a thousand springs, a thousand wheels, and a thousand Machines. It commits a violence in fetching a step. Authority on the

C 4

con-

contrary, which holds from the Nobility of its Origine, and from the vertue of divine things, quietly works its wonders, Needs neither instruments nor materials, nor even time to set them on work. Its all wrapt up in the person of who exerciseth it, without seeking aid, or demanding a second. Its strong, though naked; and alone fights, though it bee disarmed.

Authority needs but one word to perswade; Three of its syllables, *Madam*, humbles the bold, makes the rebel repent, stops the impetuosity, of mutinous Legions, stifles sedition at its birth, and those whom the General was wont



to cal my companions, cannot endure that he should name them either my Friends, or Sirs, Gentlemen of *Rome*, or how you please to render *Quirites*. They fancy that that very word hath already degraded them, That those three syllables have torn their belts and swords from them, that it hath put them amongst the scum of the most unclean, and most vile populacy.

I would but ask you the question, *Madam*, whether the name of *Quirites*, coming out of any other mouth, but that of *Cæsar*, would have entred so far into the hearts of the Legions, and would have had the same power over their

C 5

minds.

minds. For my part I should hardly believe it. I know the height of Rhetorick, and understand the vertue of the best pronounced words. But it reacheth not so far. Authority is incomparably more perswasive, then Eloquence. The soldiers would have mocked a dozen of *Ciceroes* Orations, and yet yeild themselves at one of *Cæsars* words.

Nay, I doe verily believe they would have yeilded to his silence, had he been content to have given them but a sign of leaving the Camp, without having taken the pains to have spoken to them. By this dumb condemnation, treating them as accursed, and excommunicated  
by

by their Country, & declaring them unworthy of any kinde of society with their General, beyond that of complaints and reproaches which hee might have made them. Such a scorn would have so griev'd them, that they would have begged death for a favour, & would have cast themselvs at his feet to pray him that he would handsomely dispatch them.

But I am vext that so great a word which was so great an action, was not of som Roman in the good and healthful time of the Republick, that I might not alledge a doubtfull vertue, whose cause was undecided, as was that of *Cæsar*. I would, *Madam*, that this

example of Military Authority were either of *Scipio*, or of *Fabritius*, that I might justly join it with that other example of Civil Authority, after which you will give mee leave to conclude.

You know well that honest Man *Appius Claudius*, look upon him I beseech you, burthened with years and diseases, who so long time never stirred out of his chamber, and can scarce get himselfe from his bed to his chimney. Yet in that condition, hee resolves to be carried to the Senate, to quarrel with all the Senators single, and to oppose himself to the shameful peace they were about to conclude. 'Tis to bee believed, *Madam*,  
that

that they were no lesse frightened to see that hideous old man, then if it had been a ghost, which entred the Council Chamber, and in my thought, they did not at first take him for *Appius Claudius*, They took him for his shadow, or his fantasme, which came from the other world to give them Lessons, and make them Remonstrances. Who came to tell them with a tone of command, and a strong voice, which his anger raised in the weakness of his confiscate body. *Whoever was the Author of so filthy a Proposition, is no true nor legitimate Roman. He must either be a Forainer or a Bastard. He must be the son of one of our slaves, or he hath no*

a drop of blood left of our fathers,  
which his basenesse hath not cor-  
rupted.

What would not this an-  
gry old man have done had  
he had his eyes, and the rest  
of his body at liberty? Would  
hee not have beaten those  
which hee was content to  
chide onely? Would he not  
have deposed *Pyrrhus*, and in-  
terdicted him his Kingdome  
far from relinquishing by  
Treaty an inch of Land in  
*Italy*? I know not what hee  
could have done. But I  
know very well, *Madam*, that  
he did very much. *Rome*  
and *Pyrrhus* were agreed  
upon conditions for a Trea-  
ty of Peace. *Claudius* oppo-  
seth.

seth it, and at the conclusion, comes and breaks it off. So that hee proves stronger then *Rome* and *Pyrrhus* both together, and carries it away from either of them.

When so strange a Newes was told *Cyneas*, its likely he cryed out, Behold, a greater thing then I have yet admired in *Rome*. I have there seen a multitude of Kings, but as yet I had not seen their Tutor. 'Tis this blind Man who is the light of the Commonwealth. 'Tis this sick Man, who warres against us. 'Tis this good Man, who was unable to stir from his bed, who drives us out of *Italy*. 'Tis this Chair which bore

(40)

bore him to the Senate,  
which is more to bee feared,  
then our Towres full of sol-  
diers, then our Elephants,  
then our Machins.

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A

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A Discourse of the Con-  
versation of the *Romans*.

TO  
The Lady *Marquess* of  
RAMBOUILLET.

*Discourse II.*

But this was while your Ancestors of old  
For vertue with the Gods their names in-  
roll'd.

Nature in wonders fruitful was, & yong,  
The world with *Hero's* peopl'd stout as  
strong,

Our ages vigor now, alas, was spent,  
The languors of old age it doth resent,  
Your *Rome* is dead, & all its glory gone,  
The supream vertue is in Hist'ry alone.  
Let's be content their active strife

r'admire, (aspire  
Which made that fatal place 'bove all  
Th'example of those Grandies let's adore.  
With incense let's your sought for tem-  
ples store.

**T**Is near the matter, *Ma-*  
*dam*, What I yesterday  
answe-

answered you in our common Discourse, when I took my leave. I have since found the sense of my prose in the Verses of a Poet, who never made any but those. And I conceived it was not amisse after that manner to enter upon this days Conference, and to binde with a knot, which perhaps will not displease you, the things I told, with those which you would have me write unto you. Let's again, *Madam*, confess it. Its certain, that at the beginning, God dispensed great largesses, and although his ~~arm~~ arm is no shorter then it was, yet are his hands less open then they were. Besides, birth-right, which Antiquity hath

hath over the latter times, it hath had other advantages which ended with it, and are not to be found in the succession. It hath had vertues which our age is not capable of. It belongs not to us to be *Camillas*, and *Catoes*, we want the vigour of such Men as those instead to provoke our courages, they make our ambition despair. They have rather braved us then instructed us by thir actions. By giving us examples, they have obliged us to an unprofitable trouble. They have given us what we cannot take. These examples being of that height that there is no way to attain unto them.

I do not say, *Madam*, that in  
the

the most miserable times,  
 God cannot send some cho-  
 sen Soul to make us remem-  
 ber his first Magnificence. I  
 will not deny but that hee  
 may take a particular care of  
 that soul, and but that hee  
 hath meanes to preserve it  
 from the vices of the Court,  
 and the contagion of Custom.  
 In the most general stupidity  
 of the world, there is some  
 one found to awakē the rest,  
 who breaks the bounds of the  
 age, who is capable to conceiv  
 the *Idea* of ancient vertue, and  
 to shew us that the miracles  
 of History are still possible  
 things. Its true, *Madam*, there  
 is such an one : But this one  
 makes no number ; he marks  
 ✓ even sterility, neither doth  
 he

hee hinder this solitude. Is  
 there a priviledged soul, an  
 extraordinary person, an *Hero*  
 or two in all the world. Yet  
 is there not a multitude of  
*Heroes*. There is no people of  
 extraordinary persons. There  
 is no more a *Rome*, nor *Romans*.  
 We must seek them under  
 ruins, and in their Monu-  
 ments. We must adore their  
 Reliques in the Books I have  
 told you of, and in the pla-  
 ces I have desired you to ob-  
 serve.

I at first thought to be quit,  
 having marked those places,  
 and chosen you those Books.  
 Yet are you not satisfied  
 therewith, and it seems you  
 pretend that I should adde  
 what is wanting to those  
 Books.

Books. The glories and triumphs of *Rome*, satisfie not your curiosity. It enquires of me some things more particular and less known. You would desire, *Madam*, that I should shew you the *Romans*, when they hid themselves, and that I should open to you the door of their Cabinets. After having seen them out of ceremony, you would be acquainted with their conversation, and know from me if so direct and elevated a greatness, could stoop to the use of a common life, could descend from affairs and employments even to sports and divertisements.

I doubt it not, *Madam*, all the houres of wise mens lives  
are

are not equally serious. Their  
 souls are not always exten-  
 ded, nor always contracted, &  
 yet in the same vigor, though  
 not the same action. Does  
 any man believe that the *Si-<sup>92</sup>*  
*barites* only loved Feasts, and  
 that they alone rejoiced. The  
*Romans* did it also: But they  
 did it in another maner, & lo-  
 ved other manner of Feasts.

A voluptuousnesse which  
 riseth higher then sense,  
 which seeks the superiour  
 part, and fills it with images:  
 That holy, chaste, and altoge-  
 ther innocent pleasure, which  
 acts on the mind without  
 changing it, or moves it with  
 so much sweetnesse, that it  
 stirs not out of its place, or  
 with so much addresse, that it  
 removes

removes it to a better place than it had. This pleasure, *Madam*, was not a passion unworthy of your Romans, *Scipio* and *Laelius*, used it without scruple. *Augustus* and his friends were of those honest voluptuous persons.

The Senate and the Field, Civil affairs and Military actions, had their seasons/conversation, The Theatre and Verse had theirs. The pleasures of the mind were never better tasted, then by them, and with the same hands with which they gain'd Victories, and signed the fate of *Narvaeis*,  
nations they wrote Comedies, or applauded those who acted them before them.

// There is not every day  
*Hannibals*



*Hannibals* to bee conquered,  
 nor an *Africa* to bee subjugated.  
*Antony* and the sonnes of  
*Pompey* died but every one  
 once. And then came the  
 general Calm in which the  
 most turbulent were at lei-  
 sure, and the world suffered  
 it self to be as peaceably go-  
 verned, as if it had been but  
 one family. So that they have  
 sometimes wanted enemies,  
 & sometimes rested in peace.  
 And in this State, *Madam*,  
 why should they have made  
 wars against themselves? why  
 should they have sought ene-  
 mies in their owne bowels?  
 why should they give them-  
 selves a prey to a distemper  
 worse then *Hannibal*, and  
 more cruel then *Africa*? Why  
 D should

should they bee afraid to re-  
 joice, there being no body to  
 disturb their joy. The *Sicili-*  
*an* Sea being scoured, and *Æ-*  
*gypt* reduced into a Province,  
*Sixtus Pompey*, and *Mark An-*  
*tony*, being onely names and  
 phantasmes. I must confesse,  
*Madam*, the desire of glory  
 was a ruling passion: But Ty-  
 rants themselves doe not al-  
 ways reigne tyrannically.  
 'Twas the feavour of their  
 minds, but this feavour did  
 not always burne them with  
 an equall ardour, it had as  
 well its releases, as its dou-  
 bles. And do you not believ  
*Scipio* was out of his high fit,  
 when he gathered Cockles on  
 the Sea shoar with his friend,  
 or when he lent his words to

*Cremes* and *Micio* in the Fables  
of *Terence*.

I undertake not here to decide whether he & his friend were the true Anthours of those Fables. It sufficeth me to say, That probably they were the first approvers, and that they loved them, if they did not make them. And it may even be, That the Poet changed the disposition of some scenes by their advice, and that some half verses of theirs may be there. And what we finde finest and best ajut ed, was not so much what hee borrowed from the works of *Menander*, as what he had learnt from the conversation of *Scipio*.

As for the Emperour *An-*

*gustus*, in whose person I consider the end of their good days, as I doe the flower of them in that of *Scipio*. Its most true, *Madam*, that hee hath judged most wholesomely of the value and merit of every thing, and that he loved Glory, but that he hated not Pleasure. I speak of Pleasure in general, because hee tasted of all, and having afforded his senses very much, he refused his Mind nothing. He discerned good and fair in all the subjects wherein it was to be found; and for that enquiry, he employ'd the best skilled, and most curious spies, so that they left nothing for the succeeding ages to discover.

I dare not say, as one hath already said, that the Muses were his Buffoons and Jesters; 'tis an injurious and an uncivil word; I shall onely say, they had the honour to bee his familiars and his domesticks, and at that time they were of his Court and Cabiner.

They were at least call'd at hours of conversation, if not to the deliberation of affaires; and if it bee too much to say, that *Virgil* was the Fourth of the Councel held between *Augustus* and his two friends, To know whether he should Maintain the Empire, or Restore Liberty. I somewhat suspect the History of that Councel, and I can scarce perswade my selfe, that the gallant spirits of those

times were so much the Emperours confidents that he should communicate with them affairs of that nature. I am satisfied to believe that they intended his vertuous pleasures without aspiring to a more important direction; and that hee caused the Palace gates to bee open for them, when they were shut to Supplicants and Petitioners.

But when in farre distant Countries; nay, in the midst of the Palaces clouds did rise, w<sup>ch</sup> obscur'd the Culm I spake of; It was then, *Madam*, when the Muses were no lesse necessary, then they had formerly been agreeable: 'Twas then they did him service, & helped *Livia* to uphold her husband; who began already to stoop with cares  
and

and under affairs. During this diseased and impatient season, they were only imploied to seek pleasures & divertisements for him: They did strive onely to charm his paines with their songs; they studied to appease and set at rest that impaatient part of his soul which incessantly watched & tormented it self, To estrange his fancy only from — the debauches of his daughter, and from the defeat of his Legions; To take away the sight of troublesome subjects by the interposition of pleasing ones.

Now, *Madam*, as it was no smal matter of merit for human Men sometimes to make *Augustus* sleep, & somtimes to cheer him, the good Goddesses thereby justified themselves from

the calumny of the *Barbarians*, who accused them as useless to the Republick, & as fit to have no rank in the world. This good Prince suffering them also to extend the too large violence of his thoughts, & by taking some intervals of release in those spectacles which they took care to provide for him at the same time they did divers good acts. For besides that they avowed themselves to be his. They protected the innocent against the Licence of the old soldiers, & the cruelty of the civil victory. He got prattlers which use to be heard in all ages; and honouring them with familiarity, he rendered them tributary to his glory. But chiefly, *Madam*, he followed the Councel of Nature, which will have all who work, rest; which entertains its durance by moderation, & threatens violence with an end.



I know well that this Sovereign Understanding which was given to Princes for the Conduct of human things, is incapable of being tired, and would agitate continually, could it be alone. But being engaged with the body, and having Organs which are extremely frail and delicate, it must manage them for their benefit, and in spite of it self, fit it self, to the necessities of a society, with which it is engaged. Princes cannot always be Angels, divorced from sense, and enjoy the purity of a simple being; They must sometimes be Men mixt with Matter and Subject to the changes of things composed. There must, *Madam*, af-

ter the Tempests of Affairs,  
 and the anxious Objects of  
 the ills they are to combat, be  
 a care taken to finde them  
 pleasures. Ports to divert  
 and refresh their Minds, and  
 attracting Perspectives which  
 may untire and rejoyce their  
 eyes. They are the needs of  
 human life, how rich and suf-  
 ficient so ever it may other-  
 wise bee of it selfe. Labour  
 would weaken the strongest  
 Mindes, had they not their  
 helps and stayes to support  
 them. Melancholy would  
 suffocate them, did they not  
 thus respire. To speak pro-  
 perly they are the voluptu-  
 ousness of reason, and the de-  
 lights of the understanding.  
 And he who hath discovered  
 all

all the Truths under Heaven,  
and was ignorant of nothing  
which could be known with-  
out Revelation, made so  
particular an esteem of it in  
the Fourth Book of his *E-*  
*thicks*, that he was not afraid  
to say, That sport and diver-  
tisement were no lesse neces-  
sary to life, then rest and nou-  
rishment.

Its true, he makes a differ-  
ence as well as we of playes  
and divertisements. Hee is  
not a Councillor of all kinds  
of debauches; neither will  
hee have wise men pass their  
time as the Vulgar do. Hee  
hath discovered a Mean ap-  
proved by reason betwixt an  
ill humour, and a buffoone  
in which the soul dilates it-  
self

self by a moderate motion,  
 and doth not enervate it self  
 by a violent dissolution. And  
 of this Mean, *Madam*, he hath  
 made a Moral vertue, w<sup>ch</sup> re-  
 spects the good of company,  
 in pursuit of two others,  
 which he proposeth to us in  
 the same Chapter, for the  
 same end. The first of these  
 three Vertues is a certaine  
 sweetness & facility of Man-  
 ners, which can accommodate  
 it self without servility, and  
 approves not all that is said  
 without choice; neither by  
 distaste doth hee disapprove  
 it. The second is a cleare  
 / freedome, and a custome to  
 speak the Truth even in in-  
 different things, in as far a  
 degree estranged from vain  
 ostent-

ostentation, and an affected restraint. I intimated before what the third was, and their three vertuous habits, according to the opinion of *Aristotle*, rule all the commerce of words, and extend themselves to all the entertainments which Men have of one another, whether wee hold pleasing or distastfull disputes, whether true or false, whether sad or joyfull. So that, *Madam*, without the first of these three Vertues, the Assemblies of Men would bee but Troops of Enemies mixt together, who would scratch & fly in one anothers faces, or Circles of Lovers, who would adore their owne defects, & esteem their wrinkles

kles fair. Without the second, they would but be the schools of Dissemblers, who would scarce tell us what of the clock it were, or that it were day at Noon, so feareful are they of mistaking. Or Theaters for Captains, who say more then they know, or then they have done, or then indeed could have been done. In fine, without the Third, of which we have spoken, the Assemblies of Men being too sad or too merry, would seem either as the Convoyes of afflicted persons, and the representation of a publique grief, or spectacles of naked persons and the image of those licentious Feasts, which durst not appear before *Cato*.

The

The Mean betwixt these two is a Vertue of a truth, neither so splendent nor so high as Wisdom and Magnanimity; yet its a Vertue allowed by the Philosophers, even by the Philosophy of *Cato*. And should we banish it out of our Morals, the communication wee have with one another, would have bin but dry and thorny. Our Discourse would rather have been a toile and a labour of the Tongue, then an ease and a discharge of the heart: and Society if we had permission onely to dispute and to contradict, would trouble us far more then Solitariness, wherein wee at least may laugh out of memory, and  
rejoice.

rejoice in our own thoughts.

I cannot assure you, *Madam*, that the *Romans* were acquainted with so praise-worthy a quality in the Infancy of the Republick; and although one of their Poets reports well of King *Numa*, and of the Nymph of *Egeria*, the Conferences which they had together, passing without witness, they could speak of them but by conjecture.

These Victorious Peasants knowing nothing but husbandry and fighting, were sensible onely of gross pleasures proportionable to the hardship of their births; there is no great likelihood that they did possess a Vertue directly opposite to the rudeness.



ness they made profession of,  
and which seldome accompa-  
nies poverty, which is almost  
always followed with an ill  
humour.

So long as their Eloquence,  
to use the termes of *Varro*,  
smelt of Garlick and Onions,  
we could expect nothing ve-  
ry exquisite, and it was hard  
for so sad an austerity as theirs  
to hearken to raillery, and to  
be toucht with joy. First, then  
they were without weakning  
to soften themselves; They  
must sweeten their courages,  
and unrust their Manners,  
That at last they might advise  
to cultivate themselves, as  
they did their Gardens and  
their Lands.

They indeed did it with  
so

so much success, and found  
 so happy a foundation, That  
 presently the good *Genius*  
 was amongst them a popular  
 thing. This politeness pass'd  
 from the Senate to inferiour  
 degrees, even to the lowest  
 form of the meaner people.  
 And if in their cause their  
 own witness is to be believ'd,  
 they have blotted out all the  
 Graces, and all the Vertues  
 of Greece, and have left the  
*Atticism* thereof far short of  
 their *Urbanity*.

Its that, *Madam*, which they  
 call'd that lovely Vertue of  
 Society, after having pra-  
 ctised it many years without  
 having given it a Name, and  
 should use have ripened a-  
 mongst us a word of so ill a  
 favour

savour, and have corrected the bitterneſſe which might have been found in it. Wee might accuſtome our ſelves thereunto, as to others, which wee borrowed from the ſame language.

Now whether that word expreſſeth in Ours a certain Air of the great World, and a colour and tincture of the Court, which not only marks words and opinions, but even the tone of the voice, and the motion of the body. Or whether it ſignifie a leſſe perceptible motion which is known but by chance, which hath nothing but is noble & high, and nothing which appears ſtudied or learnt, which is felt, and is not ſeen, and inſpires

spires, a secret Genius, which we lose in seeking it. Or whether in a farther stretched signification, it means the Science of Conversation, and the gift to please in good company: Or restraining of it, it be taken for an addresse to touch the Spirit with I know not what kind of pricking, yet whose pungency is pleasing to who receives it, because it tickles, and hurts not, because it leaves a wound without grief, and awakens only that part which malice offends. To conclude, *Madam*, according to the judgment of a good Judge in such cases, It was a knowledge abused by the *Greeks*, which either people were ignorant of,

of, and from whom the *Romans* only learnt the true and lawful use. Being so fit for them, and so incommunicable to their nearest neighbours, that those even of *Italy*; could not acquire it without some failings, nor so nicely counterfeit it, that the resemblance should not mark the diversity.

It was then according to this accompt, a domestick plant which could grow up but on the shore of the *Tiber*, or on the Mount *Palatin*, or at the foot of the *Capitol*, or near the Camp of *Mars*, and near some other quarter of that Capitall City of the world.

Is it possible that the Hea-  
ven

ven and the Sun of *Rome*,  
 should have so much force  
 and so much vertue? Did  
 they so sensibly agitate on  
 the spirits of men? Were  
 they so absolutely necessary  
 to make them good compa-  
 ny? I fear not of my self to  
 say it, not to wrong the rest  
 of *Italy*, and the rest of the  
 civilized Provinces. But to  
 speak in general, its certain,  
*Madam*, that the Citizens of  
*Rome*, had great advantages  
 in the world, owed much to  
 their Mothers, and to their  
 Breeding, and knew many  
 things which no body taught  
 them: there is no doubt but in  
 their most familiar entertain-  
 ment, some graces were neg-  
 lected, some ornaments with-  
 out

out art, which the Doctors are ignorant of, and which are above rules and precepts. I doubted not but when I had seen it Thunder, and Heaven and Earth mix in the O rations of the Tribunals, but it was a change most agreeably pleasing, to consider them under more than an humane appearance, disarmed of their Enthymemes, and of their figures, having left their feigned exclamations, and artificial angers, appearing in a condition wherein one might say, They were truly themselves.

'Twas there, *Madam*, for example, where *Cicero* was neither *Sophist*, nor *Rhetorician*, neither Idolater of this man,  
nor

nor furious against that; neither of this, nor of that party: There hee was the true *Cicero*, and after mocked himself privately of what he had adored publickly. 'Twas there he defin'd Men, & painted them not, where he spoke of *Cato* as of a *Pedant* of the *Portico*, or at most but as of a Citizen of *Plato's* Republick, where he said, That the purple of the Senate was finer, but the Steele of the Rebels was better, where he confest *Cesar* was the Contriver of his own Fortune, and that *Pompey* was but the work of his.

These sentiments which parted from the heart, were hidden in great Assemblies, and



and were discovered but between two or three friends, and as many faithful domesticks, and with whom hee communicated this secret felicity. And if some of them have said that they reign'd all the time they Oration'd, so sovereign was the power they exercised over mens mindes; we may speak even of those which in their conversation restored the liberty which they had taken away in their Orations, That they set at large and at ease the minds of those they oppress'd and tormented; and that they drew them from that admiration which had agitated them with violence, to make them sensible of a  
 E sweeter

sweeter transport, and ravish them with less force. I have seen a great Prince in the low countries, who in that envied the fortune of their free men, and of those inferior friends, and of the meaner sort, which they had brought out of slavery, to choose them their confidents; and in effect, it was a wonderful contentment to be a witness of their interiour lives, and to be private to the more particular houres of their leisure. And it were an incomparable satisfaction to know those good things which have been said of *Scipio* and *Laelius Atticus* and *Cicero*, and other honest people of every age, To have the History of their conversation

sation and Cabinets to adde  
to those of Affairs & State.

Being born in the Empire,  
and bred up in Triumphs, all  
what proceeded from them  
bore the Character of Noble-  
ness, which distinguished the  
from Subjects. All of them  
were sensible of Command  
and Authority, though go-  
vernment and conduct were  
not in question; all was re-  
markable and exemplary, e-  
ven their Secrets and Soli-  
tude.

Having from their infancy  
seene Kings led Captives  
through the streets, and o-  
ther Kings Petitioners and  
Solicitors come in person to  
demand Justice, and expect  
at the doore of the Senate

their good or ill success. They could retain nothing that was low in such rais'd and purg'd spirits from such spectacles. The very lees of such a people were precious: and it by mischance some Gentlemen were found who had vulgar spirits, its to be believed that such great objects would presently have rais'd them. Its likely, that being not onely covered and invironed, but penetrated, even filled with so much light which resplended even on their least actions, which they could not lessen nor hide so well, but that they always were strong and illustrious. I speak as I believe, and you know well the dead have no flatterers.

Twa

'Twas impossible for them  
 wholly to divest themselves of  
 their greatnesse, because it was  
 in their hearts and in their  
 mindes, because it was rooted  
 in them, and was not applyed  
 to their fortunes. No gesture,  
 nor outward motion of theirs  
 was unworthy the Sovereignty  
 of the world : Even they laugh-  
 ed and sported with some kind  
 of dignity. 'Tis what I fear  
 not *Madam*, to present unto  
 you, who descend not onely  
 from the same Origine and  
 from the same bloud, but who  
 beyond all this, are the daugh-  
 ter of their discipline and spirit,  
 and retain no lesse a share of the  
 Magnanimity of the *Cæsars*, and  
 of the *Scipios*, the of the honesty  
 of the *Lelia's*, and of the *Co-*  
*melia's*.

Your Ancestors were great  
 ✓ von in the least things. And  
 since formerly a Sect did be-  
 lieve, That a wise man sleeping,  
 was like himself; neither did  
 he then forbear to be wise, (It  
 was an Idol and a Wise man  
 form'd at pleasure) since that  
 Sect hath left it for a *dogma*,  
 That the dreams of this imagi-  
 ✓ nary Wise man were reasonable  
 and judicious. We may have  
 leave to believe, That truly  
 Wise men might rule with gra-  
 vity by their reason, and con-  
 duct one part of their lives,  
 which is more capable of either  
 then sleeping, and that their  
 lesse violent and lesse serious  
 actions were animated with vi-  
 gour and the Majesty of the  
 Republick.

Would

Would you have me verifie  
 what I tell you , and raise my  
 self higher then *Scipio's* time,  
 To shew you that their was al-  
 ways wit in *Rome* ; But that  
 there was alwayes Authority  
 and Greatnesse mixt with this  
 wit: It shall be onely the good  
*Fabritius* , whose Letter you  
 saw to *Pyrrhus*, which will fur-  
 nish the example we seek. And  
 I pray consider it, *Madam*, in  
 that celebrous conversation  
 which hee had with the same  
*Pyrrhus*, and with *Cyneas* the  
 head of his Council. *Cyneas*  
 having made a long Discourse  
 in praise of a Contemplative  
 life , and amongst other things  
 having said, That there was a  
 great person at *Athens* named  
*Epicurus* , who preached Rest

and Voluptuousnesse, and held the Government of States unworthy the employment of the Wise, Because Wise men / ought not to disturb themselves for fools, for ungrateful persons, for men. *Fabritius* had the patience to hear the vanity of the *Grecians*, although hee approved them not: Yet with a disdainful smile which hee addrest to him who brought them forth. O said he, *How soon would / the Romans have done, if all the world would be but Epicurian.*

Do you not beleive, *Madam*, that *Cyneas* was surpris'd with so unexpected an answer, and so far from the admiration hee looked for from so unlettered a Man, whom he thought he had ravished with his Eloquence.

That



That little saying at one blow overthrew the opinions of that great man of *Athens*, and the Eloquence of that brave Orator. And a regular refutation of *Epicurian* Philosophy undertaken by a Stoick prepared for the businesse, would not have had the force which this exclamation of one line had, w<sup>ch</sup> rendred *Epicurus* ridiculous, which confounded *Cyneas*, and astonished *Pyrrhus*.

Yet *Fabritius*, *Madam*, did use to astonish *Pyrrhus* with his answers; hee usually laughed at the Propositions which the King seriously made; And when he once offered him the first place next to him in his Kingdome, supposing that hee would not dispute so advanta-

geous a grant, and that without difficulty he would change poverty for riches : The poor Citizen answerd the rich Prince in these words , which I have drawne from a Greek Manuscript : I love you *Pyrrhus* too well, to accept the conditions you offer. If to day I were your Favorite , who could assure you but that to morrow I might be your Master ? Of a truth you are worth much , yet you cost more ; And doe you not believe, That did your subjects know mee , but that they would rather receive exemptions from me with the security of all they have , then to pay Tribute to you , and have nothing they can call their own : Make me therefore no more of these

these offers, which might ruine you if I took you at your word; and never promise me what you cannot keep without the losse of your Crown. A rough Commonwealths man born with the hatred of Monarchy, would have answered rudely, that he would have nothing to do with a King nor to be Lieutenant General of the Kingdome. But, *Fabritius*, who was harsh in fight onely, and knew onely how to offend armed Kings, being unwilling to receive what was offered, yet would hee refuse with a good grace: He would by that gallant and ingenious refusal, once more make himself to be desired by *Pyrrhus*, and shew him that he was not onely a man of very great use, but also a man of

of good Conversation.

These, *Madam*, are the first essays of Politenesse, and as it were the designe of Urbanity in a Republick of Brasse and Iron amongst simple and innocent Citizens; but simple and innocent in such a way, that we <sup>but</sup> cannot say their simplicity was smooth, & their innocency spiritual: The Consuls and the Dictators laughed after this manner. Thus they spake when they did not speake seriously; and the seriousness of the *Grecians* was worth nothing to the rude and imperious raillery of the *Romans*.

Even the Censors, *Madam*, although Grief seemed to be one of the functions of their charge, did not absolutely renounce all kind

kind of raillery: They did not opinionat themselves to an eternal severity; And that hasty and insufferable honest man, I mean the first *Cato*, did sometimes forbear to be angry and insupportable; He had raies of joy, and the intervals of a good humor; Sayings have escaped him which were nothing ungrateful; And if you please, *Madam*, you may judge of others by this.

He married a well fashioned woman; and Histories observe, that she extreamly feared thunder, as shee did extreamly love her husband; these two passions counselled her the same thing; She ever chose her husband for her shelter against thunder, and cast her self into his

his arms ; at the first murmure, shee imagined shee heard from Heaven *Cato*, who was pleased with the storm, & who was not angry to be carressed more then ordinary, could not retaine the joy of his heart. Hee reveales this domestick secret to his friends, and tels them, speaking of his wife, That she had found out a way to make him with for ill weather ; and that hee was never so happy, as when *Jupiter* was angry. Severity it self rejoiced in this manner : It was extream rigidnesse : 'Twas Sovereign Justice, which thus laughed ; and indeed, *Madam*, although he and the rest were incorruptible Judges, yet must we not therefore say, that their good dispensation of justice proceed-

proceeded from their ill humor: They knew how to change virtue according to the diversity of time and place: They received at night in their closets, the favours they had in the morning rejected on the Tribunal. But the Graces being at home with them, they were neither affected, nor licentious: They were wise and modest; They painted not Majesty; They drest her the least they could, and hindred her onely from frightening others. These Graces, *Madam*, and this Majesty, were at last separated; and the Graces appeared again under their Emperours: But they appeared alone for that Majesty, I mean the Majesty of words was lost with their Liberty.

*Fabri-*

*Fabritius* his style lasted but till *Brutus* and *Cassius*; and indeed its very observable whether it be in some of their Letters which are still visible, or in the Discourse they had together the Eve before the *Philippi* battel.

There is no man so much a stranger to Antiquity, who is ignorant of *Brutus* his evil Angel, and who knows not their Dialogue. Next day after their Funeral Conference, *Brutus* related it to *Cassius*, with more trouble and disturbance then he had when the *Damon* appeared unto him. But observe, *Madam*, with what a byass turn'd so distastful a matter, and how he made it profitable for the use of Conversation.

With-



Without appearing an astonished admirer, or an incredulous opiniator, hee laughing, told his friend, That the cares of the Minde, the contention of the spirit, the weariness of the body, and the darknesse of the night might be the cause of his vision, and had formed unto him those strange Images. That as for him from the principles of Philosophy, which he profest, he could not believe there were *Demons*, and much lesse that they were visible: Yet neverthelesse, hee wished there were, and that his Philosophy were false; Forasmuch as apparently those spirits without bodies ought to be just and virtuous. The action of the Ides of *March* was so fair, and the  
cause

cause so honest, that undoubtedly they would bear their part in it. And that so they would be friends and allies of whom he had not thought, of which would come to his relief, and Troops of reserve, which at a need would fight for them; which being granted, he ought not to reckon of their party, only so many Companies of foot, so many Cornets of horse, so many Legions, and so many Vessels: But besides that, there was an immortal people, and a most happy Militia, which needed no pay, and declared themselves for the good cause, and which hee never need feare would serve *Antony* against *Brutus*, or preferre Tyranny before Liberty.

These

These words, *Madam*, were the last words of the Republick, which she uttered before she gave up the ghost, and after which she expired: 'Twas the Character of the spirit of *Rome*; It was the natural language of its Majesty: And doe you not finde that *Cassius* was very Eloquent in that Tongue? Would you not be well pleased to bee more particularly acquainted with that Excellent Man, to see him in other society then this, and to hear him discourse on lesse ungratefull subjects, and at another time then the Eve of the *Philippin* Battel.

The mischief is, that a quick voice dies as soon as its brought forth, and leaves nothing after it

it, forming no subsisting bodies  
 in the air : Words have wings,  
 / you know its *Homers* Epithete,  
 and a *Syrian* Poet hath made a  
 sort of language amongst birds:  
 So that, *Madam*, if we stop not  
 / these Fugitives by Writing,  
 they easily escape our Memo-  
 rie.

Even all that is written, is not  
 sure to last ; and Books perish  
 as Tradition is forgot : Time,  
 / which ends Marble and Iron,  
 wants not strength against frail-  
 er subjects. And the Northern  
 people who seemed to come to  
 hasten time and precipitate the  
 end of the world, declared so  
 particular a warre to written  
 things, that it was not wanting  
 in them, but that even the Al-  
 phabet had been abolished.

Else-

Elsewhere, *Madam*, there is a fate of Letters which loseth and saveth without choice the motions of human intelligence, which pardon ill verses, and ill intended fables, to suppress O. racles, and deprive the world of the Light of needful History. The Ancients acknowledged a *Demon*, who presides at the birth of Books, and Sovereignly disposeth of their fortune & successe; whether they result well or ill, whether they are short or long-lived, as it succeeds either favourable or adverse.

Now its certain, if this *Demon* were an ill willer to the Publick, and envious of honest curiosity, and contrary to the reputation of great persons, it  
 201 was

was principally in that part of their Memories, which design'd their humour, which acquainted us with the relishes and delicacies of their Mindes, which discovered the truth of their Manners to posterity, and the secrets of their private lives.

What a misfortune 'tis, *Madam*, that wee cannot accost them by that accessible part & proportionable to the debility of our strength; that we have lost that easy object, and which wee could better beare then a higher elevation of their glory; That we know the most part of their battels, and order of their Militia, and yet are ignorant of their calm Conferences, and of the Method they used in their treaties with one another, knowing

ing of their solemn Feasts, and great Ceremonies, and yet have no share in their familiarity, or in their domestick affairs.

Truly, *Madam* it had been no small unhappinesse, had it altogether so befallen us; yet me thinks wee cannot with reason deny but that some amongst them have had a care of us, nor justly complain, that we have been frustrated of what by succession belongs unto us. Two or three by way of Comedy have left us the tract of four and twenty howres; I mean the representation of some merily past day, and others have shewed them us in their Dialogues, and in their Letters.

These Dialogues, and these Letters are their immortal entertainment.

tertainments : Conversations which are still lasting, whereto wee have every houre free admittance; where that *Idea* of vertue is preserved, of which *Aristotle* speaks in the Fourth Book of his Ethicks, where the first Master of this noble & Patrician raillery, as they cal it, is to be found, which was so compatible with the Romane gravity.

These Copies are more correct and clearer perhaps then their first Originals were; and if they have not the advantage of a lively voice and presence, which perswades the senses, and gives a lustre to vile things; they have that of attention, and of a second view, w<sup>ch</sup> polisheth the rude, and unmixeth the confused,



fused, which adds what is commonly wanting to sudden and carnal actions.

Here is enough *Madam*, to satisfy a Minde possessed onely with languishing passions, and to content a hunger which is satisfied with a little nourishment: But being desirous of much, and greedy of new knowledge, and lovers of change, we must confesse that there is no more then to whet our appetites. We are not children quite disinherited; neither are we heirs extreamly rich: And the goods left us, are nothing so great as the losses we have made.

My intention here is not to lament the calamities of Learnings, Commonwealth; I will say nothing of the ill fortune of

F

Histo-

History, of its breaches and  
 ruins. The name of *Luceius*  
 is scarce come to our ears; of  
 that *Luccius, Madam*, in whose  
 Histories *Cicero* solicited and  
 begged a place. Our *Salust* is  
 but a part of that *Salust* which  
 your Fathers had: Where is  
 the second Decad of *Titus Liv-*  
*ius*? Where are his *Civil*  
*Wars*? Where are those of  
*Atfinius*, *Pulho* and *Crematius*  
*Cordus*, which were Master-  
 pieces of the Roman Liberty  
 and Eloquence? All these *Ma-*  
*dam*, are no more; and if we  
 would know the news of a sea-  
 son which hath so much relati-  
 on & conformity with the times  
 we have seen, we must enquire of  
 some stranger of *Greece*, who  
 commonly is what she knows  
 not.

writes

not.

III

I

Ne-

Nevertheless I perceive, that in the humour wee now in these days are, and in the disgust of a distempered age, which prefers lawces to meat, and its fancie to health. 'Tis not the great and serious amongst the Romans, which wee must regret, and are most angry to have lost; We might easily passe over the Annals of their wars and fields, had we but a Iournal of their divertisements and winter quarters. And wee should without much trouble console our selves at the shipwrack of needful Histories, could their faire Fables have escaped.

It were indeed an excellent consolation to afflicted spirits, for the losse of *Titus Livius* his Decads, could we recover the

Comedies of *Plautus* and *Terence*, which we have no more, without mentioning other Poets of the Theatre, from whose wrack there remains only a few lame Verses, and some halting Sentences.

The Satyrs of *Varro*, who was the Painter of the Life and of the Minde, would also afford us very grateful knowledges: For though most serious Philosophy were in those Satyrs, yet was it as it were on flowers, and as in a place for debauch, all painted and perfumed with the gallantry of those times.

There wee should have seen the Conscript Fathers dispatching of their Clients, dismantled of their long robes in the  
purity

purity of their nature ; such as  
 they were in the pleasures of  
 their jollity, and in the liberties  
 they took after supper : Such as  
 you have asked me to see them,  
 when you thought I could say  
 somewhat to their Books. Wee  
 should then have had Lions  
 whole, whereas now wee have  
 but their claws ; and if the fate  
 of Books would have had it so,  
 The conversations of *Brutus*  
 and *Cassius*, the entertainments  
 of *Volumnius* and of *Papirius*  
*Pætus*, would have been as long  
 lived, as the Controversies of  
 the *Rhetoricians*, of *Seneca*, and  
 the Declamations of *Quintili-*  
*an*. We should judge, *Madam*,  
 of *Urbanity* by it selfe, and in  
 whole and perfect figures, in-  
 stead that we can now judge but

by our suspicions, and by obscure and imperfect tracts.

Had it pleased the same destiny, the first *Cæsar* would yet be one of those Authors whom I alledged upon this subject: He with care had gathered what had been said, and what was every day most remarkably said. *Tyron* also made a Collection of all the good Sayings of *Cicero*, and an ancient *Grammarians* speaketh of two Books of *Tacitus*, the title of which was the *Conceits Facetia*. But particularly, *Madam*, the Court of the second *Cæsar*, of which was spoken in the beginning of this Discourse. That gallant and witty Court which mocked the conceits of *Plautus*, and the saillery of Antiquity, would furnish

furnish me wherewith to entertain you whole days, with a virtue which belonged unto them in property, and which from thence had received its last form: For wee must confesse with the leave of the Republick, that the age of *Augustus* judged very subtilly of things, perfectly purified by reason, gave lights to the Mind which it had not before. It was the golden Age of Arts and Discipline, and generally of all fair Literature. All was polisht and refined under his reign; All were knowing and ingenious in that Court from *Augustus* even to his Grooms.

Its written, that fire and lightning came from his eyes; whereto I would add, *Madam*,

that they also issued out of his mouth, but more quick and glittering then those, which dazled the Courtiers of those times, which obliged the one of them to complain, that it was not possible to look him in the face: He composed verses and suppressed them; and suppressing them, he gave out a word of the ill work he had made, which was worth as much as the best work which could bee made. He in four words answered the long Oration of the Spanish Ambassadors; but those four words deserved another Oration longer then the former to commend them.

Besides the Commentaries of his life, there was a long time in the world a volume of his



his Letters ; and you may believe, *Madam*, they were not alwayes concerning State-Affaires nor all addrest to the Senate or to the Legions ; some were of raillery , some of confidence to his friends ; others of love, and of the gallantry of his Mistresses, and of the same style with those which his Uncle writ to Queen *Cleopatra*, on tablets of *Corinthians* and *Saphirs*.

But I am coming, *Madam*, to astonish you. Do you believe, that at this day there is any where any fragments to be found of those Letters written to *Cleopatra* ? And that love, and the love letters of *Cesar*, surviv'd her hatred, and her Anti-Cato's. This rarity hath

been preserved in an old Greek Manuscript, which happily came to my hands, whence I have taken what I have already told you of *Fabritius*, of *Cato*, and of *Cassius*.

The Author of this Manuscript is not unknown, is not the Son of Earth, hee hath a name, and a Countrey, and bears the marks of his Nativity: He lived under the Empire of the *Antonines*; he seemed to have the same design with the *sophist* *Ælian*: But his manner of writing is more at large, and his work may be called a mixture of common with rare things.

Yet truly, *Madam*, I cannot speak so affirmatively of the truth of these letters, but that  
you

you still have leave to suspend  
 your judgement. I dare not  
 assure you, that they were  
 found in *Cleopatra's* Cabinet,  
 when the Inventory of her  
 goods was made by order of  
*Augustus*. Besides, the *Sophists*  
 are men, whom I trust but in  
 some sort: The Roman Poet  
 teacheth us to feare the *Greeks*,  
 even when they present us; and  
 the Cardinal Historian of the  
 Church made use of his advice  
 on the subject of the donation  
 of *Rome*, made to Pope *Silve-*  
*ster* by the Emperor *Constantin*.  
 Since then the Largeesses which  
 come from *Greece* ought to be  
 suspected by us, and that in that  
 Countrey there is a number of  
 good willing people which are  
 at leisure: Since the *Sophists*  
 serve I

served as Secretaries to *Falaris* and other Princes; I know not how many ages after their deaths, they may have rendred the same service to *Cesar* upon this occasion: But before wee determine thereupon, it will not be amisse to consult the infallible. \* \* \* \*

Their answers which formerly were rendred at *Delphos*, were not more certain then his. All the Impostors of Antiquity; All the *Sinons*, and all the *Ulisses* of *Greece*, are not subtile enough to make him take one for another: And hee will instantly resolve, whether what we present him be legitimate or base; whether it be gold from the Mine, or gold of Chymistry.

How-

However it be, I believe its Antiquity ; And had those pieces w<sup>ch</sup> the *Greek Sophist* alledgeth been counterfeit, it would have according to my opinion awhile after *Cæsar*, and perhaps in the time of *Augustus*. We will in another observe them with what remains concerning that age ; Unlesse you, *Madam*, esteem it as already done, and the Age also ; and affording me the favour of a second Discourse, you would spare the pains of tiring my selfe with disquieting you.

MAE-



# MÆCENAS


TO

The Lady *Marquess* of  
RAMBOUILLET.

## Discourse III.



THE last time I had  
the honour to see  
you, the Emperour  
*Augustus* was the  
chief subject of our Discourse.  
I brought you to consider him  
in the beginning, continuance,  
and perfection of his glory:  
You

 You observed how at nineteen he vyed, with the age and experience of *Cicero*; How in one work he acted three or four different persons; How he shewed the Conscrip<sup>t</sup> Fathers, who would have treated him like a young man; that although he had not studied so long as they, yet he had learnt more; And how he did with addresse imploy their Forces to make his designes succeed, instead that he thought to use his own name and credit to establish his authority.

I past as lightly as I could that bloody Act of the Triumvirat, whereof there was no way to clear his reputation; and I wished for his honour, that that part of his History were blotted

blotted out of the memory of things ; I staid at the frequent ~~broils~~, the plaistered reconcil-  
~~ments~~, and the last rupture be-  
 twixt him and *Mark Antony*,  
 and accompanied him even to  
*Rome*, and even to the day of  
 his triumph, after the fatal voi-  
 age of *Egypt*. It was not with-  
 out informing you by the way,  
 that the dexterity of his Minde  
 was always mixt with the good  
 fortune of his arms : And that  
 having overthrown in the *Phi-  
 lippick* plains the two dear sons  
 of the Republick, he thought  
 he had done nothing, could he  
 not free himself from the two  
 co-heirs he had in the succession  
 of his Unckles power, that he  
 might secure what he had done.

The Conduct of that work

was



was admirable, he went beyond his Unckle, and placed himself in a better seat. The opposing vertue was unhappy; Force was found impotent: Hindrance made him a passage to arrive thither. And then, *Madam*, the Romans began to know the design of Providence, and the mortall disease of the old Republick. At last they loved to have rather an assured Master, and a peaceable servitude, then changes every day, and a perpetual fright of Civil War. Rest, which they did believe to be an essential good, was to them in lieu of liberty, which seemed now no more then a delight of the fancy. Every man was pleased to be quiet after such troublesome affairs, and the

the sweetnesse of quietnesse did  
 so agreeably slide into their  
 Mindes, that they even wished  
 not for their first condition,  
 when *Augustus* with assurance  
 would have restored it; they  
 were so weary of Leagues and  
 Parties, that they acknowledg-  
 ed him for a Benefactor, who  
 would take frō thē the trouble  
 of governing themselves; & blest  
 his Usurpation, who delivered  
 them from their ill Conduct.  
 Since he leads us, said they, let's  
 sleep in our Vessel with securi-  
 ty; let's if we will debauch  
 our selves; let's laugh at *Bac-*  
*chus* and Pirates: Tis impossible  
 we should be lost, *Cæsar* is re-  
 sponsible for our safety. Even  
 the grandchildren of the Con-  
 suls and Dictators forgot their  
 honour

honour to follow their interest, and forsook a ruinous and imaginary liberty, to yeild to an obedience which was convenient and full of effective advantages. They were the most subtile & most watchful Courtiers, and although they bore the names, which had made the Kings of the Earth tremble, they cared not to be seen in the crowd amongst those which give good morrows, asking favours at the door of one of their own Citizens. They said their fortune had shewed them the example of their duty, and the way to the Palace of *Augustus*. That they went whether the Gods were gone before them; and that if they had changed party, the Destin  
of

of things, and the *Demon* of *Rome*, had done so before them; Thus this Sovereign Soul, and of the first rank, which had a Naval Empire over all other Mirides, found neither contradiction nor resistance: The proudest submitted to the yolk, yeilded to the superiority of his spirit without difficulty past under so elevated an height, and submitted humane vertues to somewhat of divine, which they acknowledged in the person of *Augustus*. There was no fierce courage, *Madam*, now to be daunted; neither *Cato* nor *Brutus* to resuscitate a dead party. Mutiny lost even its breath and noise, envy was changed in to admiration.

Whence I conclude, if I remember

member right, That Envy goes not always so farre as Vertue. That Opinion is at last tired in following its constancy, and that there is a degree whereat Desert having arrived, 'tis beyond the reach of the ill wishes, and the ill will of Men. In pursuit whereof, *Madam*, an irreproachable Judge as you may call Monsieur *Chappellain*, raising his voice but a little more then ordinary, pronounced this fair Decree in favour of *Augustus*, and his new Dominion. Who is that presumptuous man that dares complain, that Heaven is above him, that thinks it strange, that the most luminous amongst creatures, is the highest, and that the worthiest is the greatest :

No

No man did ever appeal from that Decree *Augustus* was Crowned by, the suffrage of all the company after his life was made after my manner in little. But because *Agrippa* and *Mæcenæ*s were forgot in that life, you witnessed at our issuing out of your Cabinet, that you would not be displeased, if I should tell you what I knew of either of them. And that it would be grateful to you if I made you a particular relation of *Mæcenæ*s, of whom so many have unknowingly spoken. You shall be obeyed after my fashion, and I wish it may be to your content: But as I usually do, *Madam*, I will give you the things you ask as they fall into my mind, and rather

rather according to the liberty of Discourse, then the course of History.

*Agrippa* was bold and wise in War, infatigable in Military labours, a religious observer of Discipline, and had all the other parts of a good Captain: But on the other side, he wanted those sweet and sociable Vertues which are necessary for an able Courtier: He did better understand the Science of the Field, then of the Cabinet; Stratagems, then Intricacies, and what was in time of trouble valour in him, became in time of rest, rudeness.

The same cannot be said of *Mecenas*; He was esteemed the Honestest man of his time, and had nothing in his person which nature

nature had not found with care,  
 and which Letters and the great  
 World had not polished. Yet  
*Madam*, you may observe, that  
 the tincture which is taken at  
 this great Light, and which  
 gives a colour to natural  
 goods, was taken from him  
 with a reserve, and advanced  
 not to the painting and disguise  
 of intentions, so that it fel from  
 the total alteration of Probi-  
 ty. He had the graces of the  
 Court, but not the vices, and  
 his actions were even as direct  
 as his manner of acting was  
 pleasing.

Although the Court may  
 debauch Saints, and common-  
 ly at first infects what it receives  
 pure, yet it contaminated not  
*Mecenas*. It made him shew,  
 that



that besides the use of preservatives, which the study of wisdom furnisheth, there may be disposition inwardly so good, that they are stronger then all corruptions from without. T was he that gave the first example to the world, that was ever seen of an innocent and modest prospering.

Hee preserved in the Court the Maxims he brought thither, and in a place where all is false and masked, hee would appear what he was.

But he had no need take care, *Madam*, to counterfeit the Liberal and the Generous: Hee could not but have been much troubled to have hindred himself from being so: For which hee needed neither labour nor

G

fight-

fighting; Giving but way to  
 /the course of his own inclinati-  
 on, he never fell but on good,  
 and on vertue. And so his good  
 actions flowing from the spring  
 and not being drawne by  
 strength of arms, as those of  
 some *Hero's* of this age, the  
 easinesse and liberty of them  
 was no lesse esteemed then the  
 Splendor and Magnificence:  
 Twas said of him that he was  
 the honour of his Age, and of  
 the Roman Empire; That he  
 was the general Good of the  
 World; That the Sun would  
 sooner cease to shine, and the  
 Rivers to run, then *Macenas* to  
 do good. A brave man of his  
 time cries out in a Poem which  
 hee addrest to him, Tis too  
 much given, *Macenas*, I am but  
 to o

too rich; And indeed the discretion onely of those who received his benefits, could make stop of his liberality. If his friends would have believed him, he would have left himself nothing. Neither durst a man praise at his house either a picture sent for a rarity from Greece, or a statue of *Corinthian* Brasse, or a service of Chrystal Glasse, lest he presently should dispoil his Palace of those precious moveables, and force him that praised them to accept of them.

Excesse and Vanity might imitate *Mæcenas*: But natural goodnesse onely could reach his height. But we must remember, *Madam*, that this Noble<sup>er</sup> ~~man~~ of spirit was not soli-

tary and unaccompanied; All the Vertues marched in its Train; 'Twas a strong and couragious Goodnesse, an able and an intelligent Goodnesse; and out of the same fountain whence particulars drew favors and courtesies, the publick was furnished with counsels and resolutions. How great a Doctor he was in the Science of governing; The fate of Affairs never deceived him; He never was a false Politician, neither did he wander to appear a good speaker in the vast spaces of verisimilies. Hee always went right out to truth, and so clearly saw the sequel of things in their first disposition, That the most irregular successes did hardly bely the conjectures hee made.

Is

Is it not true that the Emperor would have done wrong to so excellent a person, had he not honor'd him with his confidence, and had hee not given him a share in the government of the world? Being as he was a just esteemer of men, and knowing the value of every thing, he could not legitimately make twelve to be worth no more then two. That a many eminent qualities should not be of more use then a mean sufficiency. That the most powerful in reason should not have the first place in Affairs. In a word *Madam, Augustus* could not but that *Mæcenæ* must have been Favorite to *Augustus*; And although he was to give long and opinionated battels against the

restraints of so modest a spirit  
to make him accept what he de-  
serv'd , and that he was much  
troubled to overcome him. Yet  
was he worthy of the Magna-  
nimity of the greatest Prince in  
the world, that in this occasion  
he would not suffer himself to  
be overcome , and not give  
way. That his acknowledge-  
ment should be inferiour to the  
modesty of one of his friends.

Hee did then much good to  
this friend , but it was as you  
have already seen, to distribute  
it and divide it every way. To  
inlighten and rejoyce all the  
earth with the light of his rich-  
es. With this wealth *Mæcenat*  
bought for *Augustus* all hearts  
& all tongues, and consequent-  
ly rendred them of so much the  
bet.

better, more noble, and of the more durable species : So that considering so new a commerce, he who gave was lesse liberal then he was a good husband ; and who received from him was rather his Factor then his Favorite. But, *Madam*, what I am going to tell you, deserves to be well observed : He was ever of the Religion, To receive nothing which might not justly be given, he would have nothing w<sup>ch</sup> might be reproach'd him, not onely from the publick complaint of his renown, but also by the secret sight of an interested particular. Those who since had the same favour under other Reigns, used it not so. Their morrals were larger and more indulgent to their passions.

ons. They had none of those delicacies of Conscience.

When they died not soon enough of a natural death, they had recourse to accusations to advance the term of the account they made: They caused Innocents to be condemned to make their Charges vacant, and in the sight of afflicted Orphans, they bore the marks of their Fathers fortune which were not yet dry of his blood. *Mæcenæ*s his proceedings were far different from these; he would have believed himself sullied with the confiscated goods of one proscribed; and as you may ghesse, How many places and houses hath he refused, because hee would not touch Funeral spoils, nor take away the successions



cessions of unhappy men.

I shall say more, and his scruples went farther; he hath often sent back the presents and gratifications of the Provinces, which he had eased, fearing lest the lightest sign of their gratitude, and that a Nofegay received in such an encounter, made not the least representation of interest appear in his advice. He oftner set aside the profitable, which was not dishonest to embrace, what was honest barren and unfruitful; He preferred a simple satisfaction of Minde to those things which the world esteems solid and essential.

I believe, *Madam*, that so discreet and limited a greatness raised no jealousies in his Prince.

There was no Treason to be feared from so superstitious an integrity. How should he be a pensioner to *Mark Antony*, had he not accepted all kind of *Augustus* his favours? And how should he desire new things to meliorat his condition, since he contented himself with a little part of those advantages, which the present offered. O rare example for happy Men! Such a man is not to be found. How strong and solid a piece he was in the foundation of a growing principality. Tyranny it self might have been justified by the innocency of this Minister, as it might have been upheld by the rest of his more lively and more ardent vertues.

Yet would I not deny, but  
that

that his delicate complexion sometimes rendred him lesse fit for the labours of his body, and for the toils of war, and was the cause that ordinarily his Minde could onely work. But, *Madam*, without being prest he did not forbear to do much, and to render as usefull services to the State, as his Colleague, although they were not followed with so much noise and pomp. The Solitude he built himselfe in Town, and the shadowes of his Gardens, hid the half of his vertue. His employments were covered with an outward appearance of lazinesse. And perhaps *Agrippa*, who appeared was praised for the conduct of *Mæcenæ*s, whilest he was retired.

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The Emperour had more inclination for this ; but remembering the battels gotten in *Sicilia* and *Egypt*, he esteemed the other more. The one he believed loved him more, and the other had obliged more. All these deliberated of general Affairs : But sometimes he consulted only *Mæcenas* concerning the life and fortune of *Agrippa*. Witnesse *Madam*, that little word, upon which one of *Machiavels* Disciples composed a great Discourse. You must either put him to death, or make him your sonne in Law. That is to say, you must either lose him, or quite gain him. You must secure your self of a greatnesse which is suspected to you either by taking him out of  
the

the world, or planting him in your House.

You may thereby observe that *Mæcenas* regarded onely his Master: I speak like a French man, and thought onely of confirming his Authority. *Agrippa* had a taste of the lost liberty, and turned his head about from time to time towards the ancient Republick. This never proposed counsels but such as were purely honest; but his companion wherein<sup>th</sup> concerned the good of the State, would add profit to honesty. The first had the command of Armies, and fought the Enemies of the Empire. The second exercised his power even over the Emperours Minde, and therein appeased the motions which  
 rose

rose up against Reason.

Which he did *Madam*, with so much liberty, that the Prince being once on the seat of Justice, where some criminal proceſſe was debated, and where he began to be carried away with the deceits and calumnies of the accuſers. *Mæcenas* thereupon arriving, and being unable to divide the croud, which hindred his paſſage to him, he handed a Note to him, wherein were theſe words: *Hangman*, wilt thou not come away from them? *Augustus* in ſtead of taking offence at the boldneſſe of the word, and of ſo pricking a familiarity, took his friends zeal kindly: And at the ſame time broke up the *Assembly* and

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of Battels. He witnessed him also all the acknowledgments you can imagine from a just Prince, and who knew how to distinguish inclination from duty, and those who loved *Cæsar*, onely from those who mixt other passions therewith. Even after his death, he continued to acknowledge it to his Memory; and whensoever any domestick affliction beset him, or some outward displeasure, sighing hee would say, This would not have befallen me had *Mæcenas* been living. Hee thought himself unhappy in possessing the Empire of the world, since he had lost his *Mæcenas*.

Hee had indeed a great deal of reason to regret a person so equal-



mal-ly good and intelligent, who  
 you could neither deceive nor be de-  
 ceived; who could do ill nei-  
 ther out of weaknesse, nor out  
 of designe. He had great cause  
 to weep the losse of a friend,  
 who was both so necessary and  
 so pleasing. A friend at all  
 houres, and at all times, in  
 whom he found all he sought,  
 which was his Table and Com-  
 mon place Book, the Witnesse  
 and the Repository of his  
 thoughts; the treasury of his  
 mind, even his second soul.

In effect, *Madam*, (to shew  
 you the worth of a faithful  
 friend about a great Prince)  
 how much doe you think hee  
 confirmed, fortified, and aug-  
 mented the reason of *Augustus*?  
 How many thrones hath hee  
 drawn

drawn out of those businesſes he hath had to diſpatch? How many expedients did he propoſe to himſelf to facilitate his deſignes? How many platforms hath he made to raiſe his works? You need not doubt but hee hath often ſpared the pains of his foreſight, and charged himſelf with the cares and diſquiets of the future, that he might leave him entirely in the action. That the vigour of his ſpirit might not by being divided, bee diminished. That I might with truth at this time ſay, That they divided amongſt themſelves the ſeveral functions of the ſame duty, and that they both lived but one life.

The faithful *Mæcenæſ* divers times, *Madam*, upheld *Auguſtus*,  
when

when hee was tired with the search of difficult good, and presented him with the image of a crowned and enjoyed vertue, to divert his sight from the sad object of suffering and labouring vertue, after a discovered Conspiracy, and when hee judged Clemency better then Iustice. He fancied glory to him fairer and more attractive, then shee was, to provoke him the more to the love thereof, to oblige him to convert wicked persons to honest men. By changing sentences of death into abolitions, to doe so that hee preferred the praise of goodnes, which lasts as long as the families and races are preserved, before vengeance, which passeth as quickly as the stroak of a hatchet

hatchet can bee given, and an head cut off.

And after this you may if you please believe *Seneca*, who condemns the style and eloquence of *Mæcenæus*. Me thinks *Madam*, that to obtain such like graces from a provoked soul, a man should not want Eloquence. I speak of that good and wise Eloquence, the Eloquence of Affairs and Action bred in the Sun, and in the light of the great World, incomparably stronger then the Rhetorick of the *Sophists*, although that can far better hide and dissemble its strength.

There is no doubt but its absolutely necessary to speak well, for to have to doe with Princes, who commonly cannot

not relish reason if it be not delicately prepared. 'Tis not enough that there bee vertue in the remedies they are to use, they will have no bitterneſſe in them. 'Tis not ſufficient that the things we preſent them bee good, if they are not as well good in their form, as in their matter.

But it is not Princes onely who deſire pleaſing words, and who are offended againſt the Reason which reproves them. To ſpeak generally, there being nothing ſo free and elevated as the Mind of Man, it will bee treated according to the nobleneſſe of its nature: That is to ſay, with ſweetneſſe, method, and addreſſe. Thereby *Madam*, the will is carried away without much

much resistance, and from the Will wee come to the Understanding, which is so much an enemy to constraint, that to eschew it, it estrangeth it self from its proper object, and rejects the truth when any one will cause another to embrace it by force.

Its certain that the Understanding of an Art so necessary to Government, was Sovereign in the person of *Mæcenas*. As hee was most clear sighted in discerning of wits, he was full of addresse in their conduct; and was no lesse subtile in handling them, then he had light to discover them. With this efficacious Eloquence which is nothing but the right use of prudence, which is communicated  
to

to Men by speech; he gained *Augustus* an infinite many servants, and after he had perswaded him moderation, hee perswaded them obedience.

All the Conferences which were held in his Palace, were sacrifices of praise and glory for *Augustus*. He was there adored every day in Prose and in Verse. They began to reform then the ancient Language of the Republick, and to swear by the Genius and good fortune of the Prince. The Temples which at first were built for him in *Spain*, and in *Asia*, and since in other Povinces of the Roman world, were designed in that place. And to take it from its rise, a man may say, *Madam*, that *Mæcenæ*s with his Orators  
and

and his Poets, was Founder of all those Temples, was the Institutor of that new Religion, which consecrated a living man.

Believe me and all Antiquity rather than *Seneca*; That incomparable Favorite left always I know not what sting in the heart, which provoked the courages of the hardest to the love of the Prince and Country, to the study of vertue and wisdom. A man could not get from him without a sweet emotion able to awaken the deadnesse of those who were not sensible of the felicity of the reign of *Augustus*, who never dreamt of the beauty of good things. The air of his face, the tone of his voice, and what



what the Rhetoricians comprehended under the eloquence of the body, gained the outward sense in an instant, and made even to the soul by the facility of whose guard it was presently taken.

He perswaded even with the negligence of the most familiar entertainment. In his free conversation when he devested the pomp of the Court, and gravity of his Ministry, when he forsook what dazzled the people, he still had many ornaments left which he could not leave; he had unvoluntary charms about him which hee minded not, which every where accompanied him. These charms, *Madam*, particularly inspired all he said: It supplied the default of his fa-

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vour; and even when hee did  
 /not grant requests, he did not  
 forbear to give satisfaction: For  
 you know well, that all things  
 are not always possible, and  
 that a man must sometimes re-  
 fuse. But I beseech you, what  
 must those presents be which  
 enriched so charming a Mouth,  
 since the refusals which issued  
 were not displeasing, and that  
 in speaking he so much pleased  
 that with his words alone hee  
 could have paid his debts.

Yet *Nero's* Tutor will not  
 have the Confident of *Augu-*  
*stus*, to speak well. He reproa-  
 ches his delicacies and affected-  
 nesse, even the softnesse and de-  
 bauches of his speech, and as  
 he says, he was the first corrup-  
 ter of the Roman Eloquence. He  
 broa-

broached forth saying<sup>e</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> to him seemed lighter then they ought, but which he hath cut from a work whose matter and design we are ignorant of. And thereupon without telling us whether *Mecenas* spoke in cold blood, or whether he only had a mind to laugh, he declaims against the liberty of his style with all the sharpnesse and all the rage of his.

To tell you the truth *Madam*, I doubt there was somewhat of the *Philarchus*, & of ill wil in the proceeding of *Seneca*: If the pieces he makes at, were seen whole, we should see that hee distinguisheth not the two Characters, and that he takes a suit once used at a Mask for the Robes of a Senator, w<sup>ch</sup> he

every day wears to the council. Doubtlesse he seems not to understand raillery. He certainly is one of those testy Hypomies, who would have Plays as serious as Affairs, and Comedies as sad as Funeral Orations. Let's draw him back in all the occasions of *Mæcenæ*. His aversion towards him is too visible and too discovered. And after having scratched at his writings, hee falls on his manners, with so much passion, that a man may easily perceive the spirit of his sect possesse him, and that he had a design to appear a reformed Stoick in prejudice of the honestest Epicurian that ever was.

I do not say, to weaken the testimony of *Seneca*, that hee  
was

was a Doctor of the Court, who Philosophis'd in purple, and with ease discoursed of virtue. And that even perhaps he exclaimed against voluptuousness, that he might wholly enjoy it, & no man envy it in him. I onely say in justification of *Mæcenas*, that its impossible the Soul should give without enervating it self, and that as there is a composed and melancholy folly, there may be a free and jovial wisdom.

I have heard, *Madam*, from our Learned Monsieur\*\*\*; but he said it far handsomer then I can repeat it, that there is an Art of using pleasure innocently; that this Art was taught by *Aristippus* in *Greece*; That since it was corrupted at *Rome* by *Petronius*

and by *Tigillin*, who abused it  
 as poisoners have Physick. He  
 added that the practise of that  
 Art was not defended by the  
 Laws of your Country. That  
 on the contrary, they had crea-  
 ted Magistrates expressly to  
 have a care of the pleasures of  
 the people. That besides the  
 Edicts of the Republick, there  
 was under the Emperors spoken  
 of a Tribune for pleasures. And  
 that he had seen a Science and a  
 Discipline of pleasure in the  
 formularies of *Cassiodorus*. He  
 concluded, *Madam*, that it was  
 not just to accuse the pu-  
 rity of things for the intempe-  
 rance of men, and that it is  
 not credible that the goods of  
 this life should have been made  
 only for the wicked.

It is not credible I am of the same opinion w<sup>th</sup> this rare soul, that God should have sent vertue into the world for the punishment of poor men, and that it is not vertue if it combat not against grief, unlesse it march on thorns, if it lodge not in an Hospital, if it even inhabit not sepulchres. *Mæcenas* would expect till he was dead to take possession of so displeasing a dwelling; and if he were alive, & had changed *Rome* for *Paris*, I am confident a man should oftner finde him in some place which I know, where there is nothing which contents not the eyes and the mind, then in other places which I will not name, where there is nothing opposeth them not. What a pleasure you

would take to learn his History from himself? What a glory would he receive to have som of your Audiences? How would your modest conversation touch his minde? You could not hide your self, *Madam*, he would discover that Sovereign Understanding, which you vail with all the restraint, & all the sweetnesse of your Sexe. He would admire you in despite of you. We would reconcile his enemy with him at the first request you should make him, and even without a request, so confident am I of the sweetnesse and facility of his manners. The serenity of his minde would not be disturbed by the fumes and flourishes of the violent Sophists. He would but laugh  
at



at the pettishnesse and paradoxes of *Seneca*. He would tell you onely, *Madam*, that wee must suffer all from the race of *Zeno*, and the Nation of the Stoicks. That all is permitted to a Philosopher, who called *Alexander* a fool, who its believed had a better Title then the King of *Persia* to be King of Kings. And what particularly makes for our subject, who was so much an enemy of life, that hee counsell'd Men to hang themselves when they were never so little disturbed, or in an ill humour.

F I N I S.